



THE New Republic

**Selling the Public
on the Sweet
Smell of Oil**

PAGES 12-15

LINE-UP FOR '56

The Republican Team Is Chosen

Eisenhower will deliver the high-level spiritual appeals. Nixon will be in charge of the kick-'em-in-the-shins department

By Robert L. Riggs

Can Eisenhower Win Again?

It Depends on the Chronic Non-Voter

By Gerald W. Johnson

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SEPTEMBER 19, 1955

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Washington Wire T.R.B.

To a foreigner it all looks the same, the garish woodenness of America. "Mail Pouch Chewing Tobacco" on red barns; fences advertising "Clabber Girl" baking soda; macabre enticements to fishermen of "blood worms and night crawlers"; city filling stations and neon lights. The Washington correspondent, released from politics and plunging excitedly into outside America (the magic "back home" that every Congressman invokes), savors subtle shades of difference.

The roads are improved, suburbs are exploding outward, half the towns now give alternative routes between "through" and "business district"; downtown intersections sport "walk" signals; the endless swish of traffic carries shinier, bigger cars; TV antennae cluster taller—everywhere there is bustle, change, prosperity.

What a nation—! The super-duper toll roads; the motels; the stream-lined new factories in the pastures; the suburbs of doll-houses; the trucks hung with new cars from Detroit; the hitchhiker bound for Sacramento; the friendly driver helping another fix his "flat"; the ominous signal at a mishap and the wail of ambulance sirens; the gorgeous, intoxicating flavor of the American Highway—fit by any standard to be set beside the great days of the Covered Wagon, Erie Canal or Mississippi Steamboat.

The approach to every American city seems the same. The road widens and divides, traffic thickens, an intersection light appears—an outdoor movie, motels, a wrecked car dump with its most unbelievably flattened specimens next to the highroad. (As warnings they are nonsense; they increase the feeling of zest, adventure, danger.)

Then, where through-route cement jolts into municipal maintenance macadam, spreads the new subdivision—cellar excavations going on at one end, baby carriages and ranch houses standing at the other. Then comes a city avenue in violent transition—gas stations, used

car lots, down-at-heel mansions, the bankers' home of 80 years ago now the Aleppo Temple, the stately house where the cast-iron deer once stood now labeled "Tourists." Here are the older, maple-tree suburbs, a white church with many-paned windows, the new high school, one or two houses simple and from pioneer days, others comfortable and ugly and architecturally Late Atrocious.

At the center of town they have cut down the elms to widen Main Street. Here is the row of chains: Woolworth, Sears, A & P; the familiar drugstore; the local hotel (run from Chicago); the corner diner by the depot; the high office buildings; the green square and the war monument.

Here are the inevitable groups of teenagers, all in blue jeans, slouching around the entrance to the drugstore or the movie house, their poses, their gestures stylized like figures from a ballet. Boys and girls in jeans, chewing gum, smoking, hanging around the drugstore in a terrible effort to be casual until one of them gets his first car and it's zoom-zoom-zoom with everybody else.

Across town you reach the river, the factories, the poorer homes, the slums. Note carefully, you see this is not the city's first violent transition; population has pyramided since the '90's and the town has never caught up. The brick Schroeder Block they are tearing down was built only in 1914; from an earlier era the stone water trough still stands beside the park—the monument itself is from the Civil War. The "Opera House," once the center of civic pride, has been cut off finally by television.

The skyline tells the story. Four separate times the American spirit has thrust up its symbols into the heavens for inspiration, aid or defense. First, of course, were the church steeples. They continue. Then came the great lightning-rod era in the '70's and '80's; the copper points rise up in astonishing numbers on old farm roof-trees to ward off unknown mysteries. Next came the era of the peaceful metallic windmills, their clanking vanes pumping water for

the stock until the local REA, maybe, brought in electricity cheap enough to oust air-power.

Now come, lastly, the yearning TV antennae, stretching supplicating masts up as high again, sometimes, as the cottages on which they are raised. You can walk down the streets at night in the new suburban subdivisions and see six families to a block looking at the same picture after supper. How they ever passed the time before TV nobody can guess. Now they have everything, prize fights, religion, Westerns, breathless cash prizes. They have a tidal-wave of advertising, new desires and discontents—above all a feeling of identification, of belonging, and a common denominator of accent, clothes and viewpoint.

Yes, a plunge into this "back home" is an educating experience for the Washington correspondent. The local newspapers seem oblivious to all those burning issues over which he has been agonizing. The natural gas giveaway bill? Never heard of it. The Salk vaccine botch? Didn't the Democrats exaggerate that for political effect? Foreign news is casual; items that might spell peace or war are buried comfortably in back pages. Fortunately there are a number of brilliant exceptions like the *Milwaukee Journal* and the *St. Louis Post Dispatch*.

As the reporter travels, events continue. The President's boost of bicycle tariffs? Well, it appears that Ike has backed further away from his noble generalities about expanding international trade. The tough talk at the UN conference at New York? Well, now we are coming back to earth from the rosy glow of Ike's pronouncements at Geneva where he declared he was "profoundly convinced" of the Soviet's peaceful intentions. We have zig-zagged back again from what Lippmann called the "resounding, moralistic, inaccurate rhetoric."

Or have we? Does this bustling country have the avenues of information to learn what changes occur or what is really going on? Hardly from the local newspapers. Hardly from the Merlin's wand of TV antennae, commercially sponsored. The reporter asks the question with increasing wonder as he surveys the familiar, yet foreign, land of "back home."

BEHIND THE HEADLINES

The Fading Hope of Nuclear Disarmament

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER's Special Assistant for Disarmament was completely candid when he told the 5-nation UN Disarmament Subcommittee on September 8 that the US now places a reservation on all disarmament proposals made prior to the meeting of the Big Four at Geneva last July.

Harold Stassen's statement, made in response to a question of the Russian delegate, was the first acknowledgment in the UN talks that the US will no longer consider the prohibition of nuclear stockpiles. A spokesman for the American delegation observed that the summer of 1955 would be remembered as the time when the US decided to accept and stabilize the nuclear balance of power, rather than risk upsetting the balance through an agreement which could not be enforced.

No proposal put forward by President Eisenhower at Geneva, or by any American spokesman since Geneva, calls for prohibition of any arms, or even any arms limitation. Emphasis is placed on an early warning system which, if coupled with a nuclear equilibrium of strength, is thought to give the greatest security possible at the present stage of nuclear science. If a method should be developed for detecting hidden nuclear weapons, presumably the US is prepared to reconsider its present policy of holding to its stockpile of bombs.

In a background statement at the New York talks, an American spokesman made the following observations:

1. The Russians seem badly to want a lessening of the arms race, but the US is prepared to reach agreement only if the Soviets make a major earnest payment, such as the reunification of Germany. Such an agreement would be appropriate for discussion at the Foreign Ministers Conference but not at the present UN talks.

2. If any arms limitation agreement is concluded, it would most easily involve conventional weapons. The in-

spection system need not be 100 percent foolproof, because conventional weapons are not critical in a nuclear balance of power.

3. If the Russians should accept the President's early warning proposals involving both air and ground inspectors, US experts believe this would give us from one to three days warning of a major attack. With this safety period, the US might find it desirable to reduce the size of its nuclear stockpile in the following manner. Bomb casings would be kept ready near nuclear plants, but the nuclear explosives would be removed and put to work as breeders of more fuel. If the threat of attack arose, the bomb casings could be refilled and the stockpile returned to full strength "in a matter of days."

In the Image of Ike

THE DAY after the Chicago Convention closed in 1952, the Dewey-Brownell professionals who brought about Eisenhower's nomination set out to gain control of the party machinery. Neither Dewey, nor Wendell Willkie before him, though nominated for President, had been able to achieve command of the Republican national organization. The Taft conservative wing held the majority.

By hand-picking staff personnel for national party headquarters, by revising the party constitution, and by a long series of White House stag dinners honoring new prospects for the Eisenhower political team, a great deal has been accomplished in the three years since.

The Republican National Campaign School just con-

cluded (see Robert L. Riggs' report, p. 10) which brought together all State GOP Chairmen, drew attention to the fact that 34 Republican State organizations now have leaders selected since Eisenhower became President. Nine of the 48 are 40 years old or under; only six are now more than 60. Thirty-two of the 142 members of the National Committee have changed since the '52 convention, with the result that the majority are now Eisenhower-minded, experts say.

The new leaders of the GOP who gathered at the Washington Campaign School are even trying to look like Ike, James Reston of the *New York Times* reported: "Never since the last convention of toothpaste salesmen has Washington seen so many smiling visitors."

The "progressive moderates" have now chosen 1956 as the year in which to reshape the Republican representation in Congress more in their own image, and Ike men will have a great deal more to say about what kind of Republicans are chosen to run next year.



"Confidentially, he hates it."

As Macy's Goes . . .

THE DAY after the Westinghouse Electric Company announced that it was eliminating all fair-trade pricing of its appliances, Macy's, the country's largest department store and a long-time opponent of fair-trade price agreements, put on a big sale in electrical appliances. These two actions—one by a major manufacturer, the other by a major retailer—may be the straws that break the back of an idea which has been tottering since the end of World War II.

Federal and state fair-trade laws were passed in the thirties in an effort to stabilize prices threatened by fierce competition. They provided the legal underpinning for price-fixing pacts entered into between manufacturers and retailers. During the war years, when goods were scarce and cash was plentiful, there was no problem about enforcing the agreements, but as soon as industry reconverted to consumer production a new phenomenon in retailing arose—the discount house. Here a customer could purchase brand-name merchandise at substantially lower prices than were being charged by the high-overhead department store up the street.

In trying to bring the price cutters to heel, the manufacturers found that they themselves might be violating the Sherman antitrust laws by joining together to establish prices and force them on independent businessmen. To complicate things, discount houses established themselves in the District of Co-

lumbia and in states like Missouri which have no fair-trade laws and started up a flourishing catalogue trade with customers in the 45 "fair-trade" states. In recent tests a number of state courts have declared the fair-trade laws to be unconstitutional.

Meanwhile, the appliance business done by the "legitimate" outlets such as Macy's, has been falling off disastrously as competition in the field has grown hotter, giving rise to a clamor by dealers for an end to the restrictive agreements. Now Westinghouse has made the break.

Diplomacy's Middle Way

MOROCCO, Marshal Lyautey used to say, is a very dry country where it often rains hard, a blazingly hot country which is often bitterly cold. French Premier Edgar Faure's effort to cope with the present crisis in this land of violent contradictions has been to play the middle against both ends.

The case of Sidi Mohammed ben Youssef is typical. On the one hand, the exiled former sultan is the focal point of the hatred and fear of the great French *colons*, the army, the top bureaucracy, the "little whites" (roughly poor whites) of the protectorate and their powerful allies in France. On the other hand, both the Europeanized intellectuals of the nationalist movement and the primitive barbarians of the Atlas tribes insist that at least he must give his "royal" sanction to any compromise.

The choice for this man in the middle

has been between exile in a provincial town in Madagascar and a return in triumph to his throne in the Moroccan capital. But Faure gambled on human nature, and came up with another middle—a shift to France.

The ex-sultan is a family man. He has two wives, seven concubines, two sons, four daughters and an entourage of 31 assorted relatives and retainers. His great favorites are his oldest daughter, and elder son, Princess Lala Aicha and Prince Hassan. The Princess, a rebel from the veil and the rule of silence of the women of her race and religion, drove his big slick American car through the streets and byways of Antsirabe and could find nowhere she wanted to go. The Prince felt the lack of night clubs. Both complained often and bitterly about the boredom of their existence.

Of this state of affairs, Monsieur Faure was well aware. He also knew that ben Youssef, in addition to being deeply attached to his two favorite children, is a man of the world who yearns for a context much larger and more sophisticated than an island in the Indian Ocean off the coast of East Africa. General Catroux exploited the situation, said the right things, made the right promises. The two children chimed in, until ben Youssef was so eager to get away from the provincial platitudes of Antsirabe and back to the amenities of France that he was willing to agree to anything.

Faure has still to get rid of Sultan Mohammed ben Moulay Arafa, the aged nonentity whom the French put in ben Youssef's place two years ago. He must deal with Arafa's Moroccan sponsor, the powerful Glaoui. And then he must meet the angry challenge of the Africa-Firsters in the Right-wing parties making up and supporting his coalition government.

But though success toward a real Moroccan solution still lies far away, failure has been averted for the time being. And as for the up-coming crisis in French politics, Faure will surely offer himself as the man in the middle. The Left and the Left-of-Center prefer him to Antoine Pinay despite their disappointment about what they consider still another lost opportunity in Morocco. And the Right and Right-of-Center will take any one else in preference to Pierre Mendès-France.

Paris

PERCY WINNER

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The US Counterpart to the Iron Curtain

SECRETARY OF STATE John Foster Dulles has begun his home work for the Foreign Ministers' Meeting at London starting October 27. He has asked hundreds of officers in the State Department and other agencies to prepare data papers and position papers which will guide the American side of the negotiations. The agenda is known in advance, of course, because it was approved by the Chiefs of State at Geneva last July.

One topic which involves a confusion of agencies in Washington is Item 3: the greater freedom in the movement of persons, ideas and goods between the East and the West. Mr. Dulles may be forced to use existing laws and Executive Orders of the United States as trading stock in this discussion, and has therefore initiated a government-wide review of all US restrictions on the movement of Soviet persons and communications.

It will be recalled that President Eisenhower told the other Chiefs of State on July 22 that the US, despite its tradition of freedom, had "felt compelled to place some restrictions upon the movement of persons and communications across our national frontiers." The President said American restrictions were mild compared to those of the Russians, but expressed hope it would be possible to break down "both mild and severe barriers to mutual understanding."

When a reporter asks the State Department today for a list of the "mild restrictions" to which the President referred, he is told to check with the Attorney General, the Postmaster General, the Secretary of Commerce and a variety of lesser officials, each of whom is charged by law or Executive Order with the enforcement of some roadblock against the movement of people and publications. The State Department itself administers the passport and visa operation, and controls the movement of diplomats.

After checking with these agencies, NR lists below some of the laws and practices which are now being restudied at the request of Mr. Dulles.

The US has no censorship of any press cables, and no jamming of foreign radio broadcasts beamed at the US. These freedoms constitute a trading advantage over the Russians forthcoming talks. We also permit freedom of movement for Russian newspaper cor-

respondents in the US, although these men carry official passports and therefore could be brought under the travel controls laid down by the Secretary of State for Soviet diplomats. US correspondents are permitted less freedom of movement in the Soviet.

Aside from the foregoing freedoms, the US has matched the Soviet restrictions, in some degree, in every type of travel and communication exchange. Take, for example, the movement of persons from the Soviet bloc into the United States, or the travel of Americans to the Soviet bloc.

The McCarran-Walter Act of 1952 requires more than 10,000 words to list all the grounds on which an alien is now ineligible to receive a visa for entering the US. Just one of these grounds is former membership in a Communist or Fascist organization, a requirement which has trapped most refugees from Communist countries and most visitors from Communist countries unless they travel on official passports, as the recent Russian farm delegation did.

The McCarran-Walter Act is also the source of the fingerprinting requirement, to which the Russian newspaper delegation recently objected. Section 221 (b) of the Act provides that "each alien who applies for a visa shall be registered and fingerprinted." Secretary Dulles told his press conference that the Administration might ask Congress to change this requirement.

The control over Americans wishing to travel behind the Iron Curtain is equally rigorous. No American passport is valid for travel in the Soviet Union or other Communist lands unless special permission is granted by the Secretary of State on the passport. Many passports have recently been validated for travel in Communist countries but "each application is weighed on its merits," a State Department officer said. The State Department believes that it is still easier to get an American passport for travel in the Soviet Union than it is to get a visa from the Soviet Government.

In the exchange of publications with foreign countries, the United States exercises a limited and often haphazard censorship, both outbound and inbound.

For example, the Secretary of Commerce, in fulfilling the Export Control Act of 1949, has established a licensing system to control the export to the Soviet bloc of "unpublished technical data of significance to the defense or security of the United States." The Commerce Department decides how to interpret this phrase. No licenses are now required for sending unclassified material to friendly countries. Two kinds of materials are freely passed under the licensing system for Communist countries: unclassified data which is generally available in published form, as in any national magazine; and scientific or educational data used in the classroom. All other data is generally stopped.

The Strategic Information Office of the Department of Commerce pushes the role of the censor back one step further. It seeks to persuade American editors to apply voluntary censorship to the publication of any data of significance to the defense of the US.

When foreign publications are shipped into the US, censorship is exercised by the Postmaster General under the Espionage Acts of 1917 and 1940, both directed at wartime situations. The



"Welcome, friend—put 'er there."

Attorney General ruled in 1940 that under these two statutes, the Postmaster General may prohibit the delivery in the US of any foreign "letter, writing, circular, postal card, picture, print, engraving, photograph, newspaper, pamphlet, book or other publication" which contains material that violates these espionage statutes.

To determine the admissibility of foreign books and periodicals under these Acts, the Postmaster General routinely sets aside all third class mail entering the US for examination by postal inspectors. This branch of the service is seriously understaffed, leading to delays in the delivery of foreign periodicals to American subscribers, and of foreign shipments to American bookstores.

When complaints are received from foreign shippers regarding postal delays the State Department has generally sided with the complaining party in urging the Postmaster General to speed up deliveries.

American restrictions on official Soviet information activities in the US have probably equalled those applied by the Russians to the US information service in Moscow. The Alien Agents Registration Act of 1942 provided so many onerous restrictions for the Russians that virtually all information work was discontinued. The Russians, for their part, permitted the US to operate an information library in Moscow but posted a policeman at the door to take down the names of any Russians who entered. They also permitted the US to print the magazine *America* in Russian, for sale in the Soviet Union through government newsstands, but the Russian Foreign Office reported that the Russian people stopped buying the magazine, and no copies were sold. Both the reading room and magazine are now discontinued.

These are among the restrictive laws and practices which are undergoing review in Washington. But those making the review do not expect the greater exchange of persons and communications to become a major issue at the Foreign Ministers Meeting except under one of two circumstances. First, if the Russians should make major concessions to the West on such issues as German unity, a European security pact or disarmament, the West may be pressed to find trading stock of equal value, and

would turn to Item 3 on the agenda for help. Or conversely, if the Russians make no concessions on the major issues, the foreign ministers would feel compelled to find some agreement which they can present to the world as the continuation of the Geneva spirit. Again they would turn to Item 3.

McKinley Comes Back on a Bicycle

AFTER HAVING pursued a liberal trade policy for nearly 20 years, the United States is once again a protectionist nation. The recent Administration decisions to increase the tariff on imported bicycles and to reject the low British bid for generators and transformers for the Chief Joseph Dam have bluntly served notice on the rest of the world that American industries will be protected whenever competing foreign goods make a serious attempt to enter the American market.

On August 19 President Eisenhower approved the Tariff Commission's request for action against bicycle imports under the escape clause provision of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act. Eight days later the Defense Department announced the rejection of the English Electric Export and Trading Company's low bid for furnishing generators and transformers for the Chief Joseph Dam, and awarded the contract to two American companies, the Westinghouse Electric Corporation and the Pennsylvania Transformer Company, both of whom agreed to build the equipment in their Pittsburgh Plants.

The ostensible reasons for these two decisions were at least slightly different. In the bicycle case, it was alleged that domestic producers were being injured by foreign competition. In the Chief Joseph Dam case, the low English Electric bid was supposedly rejected because of substantial unemployment in the Pittsburgh area. Of these two, only the bicycle argument is purely protectionist. The Chief Joseph Dam decision, like last year's escape-clause action against jewelled watches, hides behind a sort of patriotic cloak. The Administration, faced with mounting pressure from the protectionists, elected to ignore its own statements on our mounting prosperity long enough to plead high levels of unemployment in rejecting the English bid, just as last year it used the specious

For such discussion Mr. Dulles will need in his brief case a complete listing of all the US restrictions imposed on Soviet persons and communications, and how far the US is willing to amend these practices in return for Soviet concessions. That is the purpose of the present exercise.

excuse of stockpiling essential skills to raise the tariff on watch movements.

In neither case will the purported reasons withstand critical examination. The unemployment in the Pittsburgh area was primarily in the steel rather than in the electrical industry. The watches decision was taken blandly in the face of a working level Defense Department study, completed in April, 1954, but suppressed until February, 1955, which made it plain that the national-defense base did not rest on the particular skills that would be preserved by a pampered jewelled watch industry in America.

In the bicycle case, however, those who still attempt to argue that the Administration is pursuing an essentially liberal trade policy are denied the support of even these shaky crutches. No one has seriously taken the position that the bicycle industry is even remotely essential to our defense base. Nor has it been argued that last year's drop in employment in the American bicycle industry was so extensive as to require relief on general economic grounds. The reason adduced was simply and purely protectionist—"serious injury to the domestic industry producing like or directly competitive products."

It is in fact highly questionable whether the injury to the domestic bicycle industry was as serious as the majority of the Tariff Commission implied. By the Commission's own figures, domestic bicycle production in January-May, 1955, was more than 35 percent higher than during the same period in 1954. This startling improvement compares with a general increase in total industrial production of only 8.6 percent, and strongly supports the conclusion that the low bicycle-production figures for early 1954 reflected the sensitivity of that industry to cyclical fluctuations.

It may be worth noting that in early May of this year, while the escape-clause decision was still pending, President Ei-

senhower's close friend Morehead Paterson announced that the American Machine and Foundry Company, of which he is Board Chairman, would build a \$1,250,000 bicycle plant in Little Rock, Arkansas. The Vice Chairman of the Board of American Machine and Foundry is General Walter Bedell Smith.

President Eisenhower's statement that "this nation's firmly rooted policy of seeking ever expanding levels of international trade and investment is in no respect altered by this decision" seems to have deceived no one. The bicycle decision was widely considered in Europe as a test of the sincerity of Washington's professed devotion to freer international trade. Europe's reaction has been immediate and unanimous. Eight countries — Britain, West Germany, France, Austria, the Netherlands, Belgium, Ireland and Portugal—protested in the Council of the OEEC against the decision. Press comment has been quick to point up the disparity between our words and our deeds, and the economic nationalists in Europe are exploiting to the full the latent belief that any real attempt to earn more dollars in the US market will be met by further protectionist measures. It could not have been more unfortunate, from a US foreign policy point of view, that the rejection of the Chief Joseph Dam bid followed so close upon the heels of the bicycle decision.

Aside from the immediate implications, what is likely to result in the future from the basic US policy shift from economic internationalism to protectionism? To begin with, we can expect a rash of escape-clause applications from domestic producers hoping to profit from restrictions on imports of foreign goods. Foreign countries with dollar-balance-of-payments problems will be increasingly reluctant to push products tailored to the American taste, for fear of inviting retaliatory action through increased tariffs. The present shift toward currency convertibility in Europe will be halted, and as the latent chronic imbalance of payments between the dollar and non-dollar areas of the world is brought to the surface by decreased US foreign aid the non-dollar nations will be forced to discriminate more and more strongly against US imports.

The political effects are perhaps harder to calculate, but the prospects are no

less gloomy. Unfortunately, there is likely to be a lag between our own restrictive actions and those taken by our free world neighbors. By the time the volume of US exports has decreased

sufficiently to make the error of the present Administration's protectionism painfully evident, much damage will have been done. It is to be hoped that it will not be irreparable.

. . . To the Consternation of the British

ABOUT six months ago a leading French economist predicted that if a British General Election were held on May 26th, we would have convertibility on May 27th. At that time the British Government was boasting that the strength of sterling would permit convertibility with a floating exchange of rate as soon as foreign fears of Labour's return to power had been removed by a Conservative election victory. The new Conservative Government has now been in power for nearly four months, but convertibility is further away than ever. What has gone wrong?

First of all, there has been a steady decline in the sterling area's gold and dollar reserves since the middle of 1954—a decline which has grown dramatically worse in the last two months. This is because the government has failed to cure domestic inflation—indeed the pre-election budget made it worse.

The internal inflation has reduced foreign confidence in sterling, particularly in Continental Europe where speculation against the pound has steadily grown. The government's earlier plan for convertibility with a floating exchange rate has, of course, encouraged such speculation, and the influential *London Economist* suggests this week that the government should give the plan a formal burial by publishing it as a White Paper together with a statement of its present intentions.

Meanwhile, the pressure which Germany tried to exert on Britain in favor of convertibility has relaxed in the last year, while French pressure against convertibility has increased. The French Government knows that its tottering economy could not possibly stand the shock. But the most important external factor arguing against convertibility has been the very disappointing progress made by Eisenhower in his campaign for a more liberal trade policy. Indeed certain recent events have given Britain a strong case for returning to greater discrimination against the dollar.

For Britain, the most spectacular rebuff was the US Government's decision to order the rejection of a tender by the English Electric Company for generators and transformers for the Chief Joseph Dam. The English Electric bid was substantially lower than any of the American bids. Holland and Switzerland have been even worse hit by increased tariffs against foreign cheese and watches. These decisions might have been taken as unfortunate exceptions to a general rule. But when the President agreed last month to raise the tariff on imported bicycles, although the whole of America's bicycle industry employs only about 5,000 workers. Europe began to abandon hope that America will move toward a more liberal trade policy, at any rate under the Eisenhower Administration. The stage is set for a general retreat from the ideals of a One World economy.

In itself, this might mean very little in practice. Few governments have paid more than lip-service to the ideas of the General Agreements on Tariffs and Trade, the International Trade Organization, and Bretton Woods. Many experts of both Right and Left have regarded them as infantile delusions in any case. But like the United Nations in the political sphere, the formal international commitment to co-operation in trade and finance has at least inhibited the grosser forms of economic nationalism. If the weight of government opinion swings in the other direction, the resulting economic conflicts may have serious political consequences.

For example, there is great anxiety in Lancashire that the US Department of Agriculture may try to dispose of America's surplus cotton by dumping at uneconomic prices in foreign markets. And behind the recent Atomic Conference in Geneva lies the threat of a trade war in the supply of nuclear fuel and machinery which could drive Britain and America into intense economic rivalry.

London

DENIS HEALEY, M.P.



Politics, Defense and Budget Balancing

THE TOP LEVEL decision of the Administration to balance the budget in the current year by cutting another billion dollars from defense spending set off a series of reactions including these:

General Nathan F. Twining, Air Chief of Staff, flew to Michigan for an emergency meeting with Secretary of Defense Charles E. Wilson at his summer home. The Joint Chiefs of Staff flew to Denver for a hastily called meeting with the President. Air Force Secretary Donald Quarles met with the Bureau of the Budget to argue that further Air Force cuts are unwise, but he said publicly he deplored any effort to portray the proposed reductions as a dispute between the Defense Department and Secretary of the Treasury George Humphrey. Former President Harry Truman declared that the proposed cuts in the military establishment were "unjustified" and "dangerous." To which the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Admiral Arthur W. Radford, retorted that defense cuts would require no change in the US military program.

Obviously defense cuts had become politics. The Administration is extremely sensitive to the charge that it is jeopardizing the national security to balance the budget just before an election. And the Democrats are testing a new issue for use in their next campaign.

Cutting through the political underbrush, Roscoe Drummond, the notably careful Washington correspondent for the *NY Herald Tribune*, summed up the budget dilemma:

1. The Republicans are going to balance the budget within the next nine months "if they have to sell the turf off the White House lawn." They will not rely on taxes from booming business to close the present deficit.

2. A further cut of \$1. billion in defense spending will "carve into the bone of our defense readiness." To talk of budget balancing without lowering defense goals "would be either hogwash or self-deception."

3. We should know by the end of the year, following the present UN disarmament talks in New York and the Big Four Foreign Ministers Meeting in late October, whether the Kremlin desires to remove some of the causes of the Cold War. Until then, "major de-

fense cuts mean putting economy-for-its-own-sake ahead of defense."

The Administration is not waiting to hear from the Russians. At the time of the President's budget message last January defense spending for the current fiscal year was set at \$35.7 billion. By mid-August the estimate was pared to \$34 billion, although not all the cuts had yet been allocated. By September 6, just three weeks later, the Defense Department announced a new spending goal of \$33 billion.

The major cuts, a spokesman indicated, would fall on the Air Force item of \$5 billion for aircraft procurement. This will not affect delivery of planes this year, but it probably will delay the achievement of the 137-wing air force, previously scheduled for 1957.

Pressure to cut Air Force spending comes at a time when Air Force leaders are trying desperately to evaluate sensational Russian progress in jet bombers and jet fighters, revealed to foreign witnesses in Moscow during last April. An intense debate has been going on in both the Pentagon and the National Security Council as to the meaning of the Russian developments, and whether American air plans are now adequate.

Despite these uncertainties, an attempt by the Democrats to make a campaign issue of defense spending is fraught with political peril, for in effect it would challenge the military judgment of a President who is respected most in the popular mind as a military strategist. Persistent agitation for a larger Air Force would also place the Democratic Party in the posture of a stiffer attitude toward the Soviet Union than the Administration takes.

No such partisan overtones are involved in a simultaneous budget cut directed at foreign aid, but the danger to US security may be as serious. The new American aid administrator, John B. Hollister, informed his first press conference in early September that he expected to make cuts in foreign aid already voted by Congress in order to help the Administration balance the budget in the current year. Mr. Hollister and Secretary Humphrey are meeting in Paris this month with the chief economic officers of all American embassies in Europe to decide—among other

things—where those foreign-aid cuts can best be made.

It is now possible for the first time to measure the price the Administration is willing to pay to achieve its most publicized 1952 election pledge—a balanced budget.

The Secrecy Bug

IF YOU craved statistics on how much peanut butter the armed forces consumed last month, you'd have a hard time getting them. This is restricted information in Washington today, as are the facts on atomic fall-out. The penchant for using public relations as a substitute for news has been a source of continuing irritation to reporters and editors in recent years, and their complaints have inspired a Congressional subcommittee, headed by Rep. John Moss (D. Calif.) to look into the alleged suppression of information.

Government agencies have employed a variety of techniques to keep things to themselves and thereby avoid embarrassment or unpleasantness. The security stamp has been used lavishly, as when Secretary of Defense Charles E. Wilson put **CONFIDENTIAL** on the parting report of former Army Chief of Staff Matthew Ridgeway. Reasons of "economy" have been advanced to explain the discontinuing of official publications, particularly on scientific matters. There is evidence that some officials have been instructed not to associate with journalists, and at least one complaint to the committee tells of the intimidation of a reporter who wrote a story considered unfavorable to a certain agency. The last Congress too was bitten by the secrecy bug; 41 percent of its 3,002 committee sessions were closed to the public.

The Moss committee has sent out 65 questionnaires to executive departments, asking forthright questions about their information policies. September 15 was set as the deadline for answers; as of this writing the Committee has received seven replies—all from smaller departments—and acknowledgements from about half of those contacted. Despite this slow beginning, the enthusiasm in the inquiry among the country's newspapers will probably encourage laggard agencies to answer before open hearings begin early in November.

BUSINESSMEN IN GOVERNMENT—IV

The Innocence of the Executive-on-Loan

SAMUEL JOHNSON said that a man is never so innocently employed as when he is making money. He wrote this in England in the 18th Century, when business-



men were businessmen and government officials were government officials, and they did not as a rule sip cocktails together.

But the US capital in the 20th Century is a different sort of place. Here, as a conservative observer has noted, the picture is "of innocents abroad in the fierce jungle of bureaucratic Washington." Liberals tend to view the innocence of businessmen with some skepticism and would be happier if they were back making money in the straight-forward way Johnson described.

In the past, businessmen have been welcomed to government bureaus as saviors in wartime and evicted as suspect characters in peacetime. Now, under the Republican Administration, the Washington climate has turned permanently fair. Most of the arriving businessmen are exempted from the provisions of the conflict-of-interest laws and may continue to receive salaries from and hold stock in their private firms. Even where applied, the laws cover only the most obvious abuses of the public trust and do not do this very effectively.

The real problem raised in recent months goes deeper than simple venality, which can easily be identified and acted against. There are bribery and graft statutes and a host of special agency regulations to take care of the mink-coat, deep-freeze operators. Even the actions of a Harold Talbott present no real threat to the Republic. Granted that he verged on the unlawful when he used his high office to round up business for his management engineering firm, still it was not his deed but his terrible innocence that was so startling. Never once, as the compromising letters he wrote on Air Force stationery were made public, did he evidence any sense of having done anything improper. On the contrary, he left his post angry with his fellow Cabinet members for not having risen to his defense. After receiving his medals and viewing the fly-past in his honor, the Secretary returned to pri-

ate life with the comment: "Now I'm going back to business to make myself a little dough."

This lack of ethical sensitivity is not unique to Mr. Talbott. Adolph Wenzell could see nothing wrong with operating simultaneously as a government employee and an investment banker and, in effect, dealing with himself to the advantage of his banking house. Leonard Pasek never apologized for the helping hand he gave his private paper firm while he was a Commerce Department advisor. No apparent pangs of conscience troubled Edward Howrey as he used his post as Federal Trade Commission chairman to influence a pending case against a former client. And unlike Mr. Talbott's forthright effort to channel some fees in his partner's direction, the actions of these men have directly affected federal policy.

The actions of men like Wenzell and Howrey can, once they have been disclosed, be generally understood as examples of a relatively simple phenomenon—the use of influence by men in responsible positions for the benefit of themselves, their associates, their clients. But there are more subtle means of exercising influence which are not headline material: the friendships made, the luncheons attended, the small gifts passed, a general atmosphere in a government office of good fellowship and *rapprochement* between the wealthy businessman on loan and the civil servant at the next desk. This intangible influence lingers long after the without-compensation public servant has left Washington and constitutes as much of a threat to the impartiality of federal officials as the innocence of Harold Talbott.

When a man comes to Washington on temporary loan from a corporation, he carries with him not only his securities and his long-established set of mind ("What's good for General Motors is good for the country!") but the knowledge that in a few months he will be returning to his old desk at the corporation—a heavy burden on anybody's impartiality. When a businessman is elected to Congress, one must assume that his constituents know him, know his background and can oust him in two years

if he does not live up to their expectations. When the President makes up a Cabinet of corporation executives, the assumption is that he is in this way purposely orienting his Administration's policies on the highest level, a perfectly legitimate use of the executive discretion. But when a regulatory commission, set up to oversee the activities of private industries, is put in the care of the men from the industries to be regulated, the commission's independence is at least jeopardized.

The reason usually advanced for using men from the corporations rather than career government workers to handle certain matters is that the required know-how for the post is possessed only by the businessmen. In time of national emergency, when rapid mobilization is essential, this view may be justified. Businessmen probably are the best persons to work with other businessmen in expanding and directing necessary production, and if some favoritism is shown, the price may be small as compared with the total gain. But in peacetime, detailed knowledge of an industry is less important to a government representative than the knowledge of what his responsibility is as a government representative. This quality is more likely to be found in the trained civil servant than in the man who comes to Washington from 20 years with a corporation, to which he plans to return shortly.

Certainly businessmen should be invited into the government service—as full-time paid employees. So should lawyers and labor leaders and university professors. Just now the businessmen seem to be far more welcome, and their ethics in office cannot be regulated merely by statute. How far they go toward operating in behalf of special interests will of course be determined largely by the men themselves. Still, the atmosphere in Washington will guide their actions in unspecific but important ways. President Eisenhower spoke grandly of ethics in the Talbott case, but Harold Talbott left office to the accompaniment of a brass band and an air show . . . and received two medals. Neither Mr. Wenzell nor Mr. Howrey suffered any Presidential rebuke for their improprieties. Grand phrases tend to obscure Washington realities; it will take strong executive action to clear the air.

WALTER GOODMAN

The GOP Team Is Chosen

by Robert L. Riggs

THE PATTERN for the Republican campaign in 1956 was made clear at last week's school for 48 state chairmen. Delivering the high-level, spiritual, duty-laden appeals for votes for all GOP candidates will be Dwight D. Eisenhower. In charge of the kick-'em-in-the-shins department will be that experienced slugger, Richard M. Nixon.



The realists whose job it is to get the votes into the ballot boxes know who's going to be on the ticket, and they never have had any doubts.

It's Eisenhower for President and Nixon for Vice-President.

As for the campaign techniques, thanks to lessons learned from the loss of House and Senate in the last election, there will be one major modification: much more active participation by the President at a much earlier date than when he went into action in 1954.

What the Republicans learned in 1954 is that their chief problem is to transfer to other Republican candidates some of Eisenhower's great personal popularity, which is why the three-day school of instruction was conducted for state chairmen rather than for members of the Republican National Committee. Ordinarily, the paid staff of the committee doesn't give much thought to local elections. Its primary duty is to elect Presidents. But as part of the task of providing a Republican President with a Republican Congress the National Committee's school sought to share with state chairmen the knowledge amassed by its advertising experts, its public-relations men, its buyers of television and radio time and its pamphleteers.

Most of the men who made up the faculty are ardent believers in the theory that you are not likely to lose an election if you do all the technical things properly. It is their doctrine that if you ring enough doorbells, if you send out enough direct-mail appeals, if you have the right number of names on the right number of committees, if the campaign fund is the proper size, you are sure to put over your candidate. But even their faith in the efficacy of hucksterism falters at some point. Hence, they supplemented the technical course of study with an inspirational pilgrimage to the party's current shrine in Denver. The Saturday morning breakfast in Denver was, in a sense, both a commencement exercise and a graduation present.

During the New Deal era, the Democratic organizations in many localities got soft and fell apart for lack

of exercise. They didn't have to ring doorbells even on behalf of local candidates so long as Roosevelt was at the head of the ticket. The difference between then and now is that the votes cast for Roosevelt were political votes, given in support not only of a glamorous personality but also in support of a philosophy of government. The Eisenhower votes are cast not in support of any particular concept of government, but for an individual.

The public seems not only willing that the President should have little knowledge of or interest in political affairs but is even eager to have him remain above the fray. It is Eisenhower's liking for the role of ceremonial head of state which makes him lean so heavily upon Richard Nixon as the political arm of his Administration. The President's obvious gesture in his Denver meeting with the Vice-President made it clear that Nixon is a man he still delights to honor, and, the prominent part given during the school for state chairmen not only to Nixon but to his closest lieutenant and political hatchet man, Murray Chotiner, clinches the point.

You can write it down that during the 1956 campaign there will be no more important figure, wherever there is scratching and biting to be done, than the 46-year-old Los Angeles lawyer. No one had more to do with sending Dick Nixon to the House, to the Senate and then into the Vice-President's chair than did Chotiner. He is the modern replacement for the pot-bellied, cigar-chewing political boss of cartoon fame. Instead of picking candidates in smoke-filled rooms, he arrives at the same result by organizing highly-respectable committees to endorse the men he wants to see victorious in primaries. Instead of buying votes with money or whisky, Chotiner believes in pouring funds into the new techniques of pamphlets, television and radio. But however modern his methods, Chotiner clings to the old-fashioned idea that the way to subdue an enemy is to hit him as hard as you can with as low a blow as is acceptable.

In the dark days of the 1954 campaign, when it appeared Republican Senators and Representatives would be slaughtered in great numbers, it was Chotiner who helped Nixon put on the whirlwind campaign that injected life into the Republican cause. Chotiner and Nixon constituted themselves the chief exponents of the "numbers game," and, with a few assists from Attorney General Brownell, Nixon adopted as his campaign theme the claim that thousands of security risks had been exposed by the Eisenhower Administration.

But there are two reasons the same numbers game may not be a good weapon in '56. The first is that the Civil Service Subcommittee, headed by Sen. Olin D. Johnston of South Carolina, already has made a good start toward showing how utterly lacking in substance were the Brownell-Nixon claims of cleaning subversives out of government. The second reason is that no one knows at the moment which way the "spirit of Geneva" will turn. If Russia continues to play the role of big, kindly, mis-

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understood neighbor, an Administration which has warned its spokesmen to pipe down on anti-Russian utterances would not want its No. 2 man scurrying about the country making anti-Communist speeches.

But, suppose the spirit of Geneva turns sour! Suppose the Cold War breaks out anew! It will, in that case, be difficult for the Eisenhower Administration to pick up where it left off in the condemnation of Yalta, of Potsdam, of "years of treason." In fact, there might easily be a switch in campaign positions. If relations with Russia got dark enough, the Democrats might be denouncing those who went to Geneva to talk to Communist leaders. True, the main instigator of the Geneva conference was the Democratic chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Walter F. George. But it would be easy for Democratic campaign speakers to ignore that, just as Republicans have always sloughed over the part Foster Dulles played in the Truman-Acheson foreign policy.

But if foreign policy is kept out of the campaign and if neither side feels equal to starting a quarrel over who is the softer toward Communists, all that will be left to fight about will be domestic issues.

As Nixon has said, the chief conflict on the domestic front would be the "clash of economic philosophies." Which indicates that Eisenhower and his lieutenants can be expected to continue their attack against "creeping socialism."

But the Democrats are better armed to fight on that front than they were in 1952. Then they could only suspect what Eisenhower would do about the Tennessee Valley Authority, about Hell's Canyon, about other facets of the fight over public power versus private power. Now, everybody knows what Eisenhower's attitude is, providing the Democrats a chance to use the "giveaway" issue. The weak spot in the economic setup, as most of the 48 Republican state chairmen conceded, is the farmer. Amid an industrial and business boom, farm income continues to fall. Since February, 1951, it has dropped 26 percent. True, half that decrease came under the Democrats. But at least the Democrats pretended they had a solution—rigid price controls at 90 percent of parity. By contrast, the Republicans, in the midst of falling farm income, have changed the rules. It wasn't Secretary Ezra T. Benson who invented the policy of flexible price supports. In fact, it first was conceived during the Truman Administration. It was put into effect under Eisenhower with strong Democratic support. But it is a Republican Administration which has to suffer the consequences if farm income continues to fall. It may be that when a patient has a low-burning fever it is good medical practice to give him an inoculation which sends his temperature climbing. Maybe the extra climb will hasten the cure. But the patient isn't going to like it in the meantime.

Experienced politicians remember too well there is no better bearer of grudges than an angry farmer. That's

why Republican leaders, gathered in Washington for their school sessions, shuddered at the unkind cut which came from President Eisenhower's "friends of Kasson." Thirty farmers who gathered at Henry Snow's farm near Kasson, Minnesota, sent the President a letter reminding him it was on that spot that he made his farm speech in 1952. They suggested he carry out the pledge he made there. They reminded him that part of his pledge was: "And a fair share is not merely 90 percent of parity but full parity."

This and other complaints came at a time when farm income had fallen 2 percent during the month which ended August 15. That 2 percent decline followed a total drop of 6 percent in farm prices during the past year. The parity ratio of 84 percent which Benson put in effect is the lowest in 15 years. Republican strategists fear that while farmers will not hold the President accountable for the agricultural policies of his administration, they will inflict punishment upon the Republican Party.

It is one of the strangest phenomena of American politics that the head of an Administration and the leader of the party in power could fail to be held responsible. But such apparently is the case. Which means that while Eisenhower might be sent back to the White House by a comfortable margin, the party could fare even worse in House and Senate than it did in 1954. This is especially true as concerns the Senate because so many of the 15 Democrats up for re-election come from states that are more often than not Democratic. Republicans not only have more Senators up—17—but have the ill fortune to have many of them come from states which cannot be considered safe for the party.

IN THIS situation, it is no wonder the professionals refuse to listen to the suggestion Eisenhower will not run. They feel sure he would not have selected San Francisco as the convention site weeks ago if he had had any thought, even then, that he would refuse renomination. Even a man who pays as little attention to political matters as Eisenhower knows that California would be bloody ground for a wide-open Republican convention.

That state would have in the running not only Vice-President Nixon but also Senate Minority Leader William F. Knowland and Governor Goodwin Knight. In addition, Chief Justice Warren is still a Presidential possibility in the minds of many Republicans.

To turn the warring California factions loose in a San Francisco convention would be mass murder, unless Eisenhower intended to use the full power of the Administration to force the nomination of Nixon as President.

But for all the reliance he places on his vice-president, and for all his willingness to turn political chores over to him, there is no reason to believe Eisenhower has reached the point where he would try to force Nixon on the party in the top spot.

OIL AND POLITICS—IV

The Sweet Smell of Oil

by Robert Engler

... There is a colossal shortage of understanding about the oil industry. ... We propose to increase that understanding. We propose to do it through a carefully planned series of specific steps that will create a constructive, favorable impression of the oil industry in the public mind. We want the public to like the oil industry.

It was November, 1946, and vice-president Robert T. Haslam of the Standard Oil Company (New Jersey) was presenting to the twenty-sixth annual meeting of the



American Petroleum Institute the postwar public-relations program for the industry. This was a product of the extensive deliberations of a 17-man API Advisory Subcommittee on Public Relations which were in part based upon the findings of an Opin-

ion Research Corporation study. On the cover of the latter's report had appeared a quotation from Lincoln:

Public sentiment is everything. With public sentiment nothing can fail. Without it, nothing can succeed. Consequently, he who molds public sentiment goes deeper than he who enacts statutes or pronounces decisions. He makes statutes and decisions possible or impossible to be executed.

This was the essence of the advice to the industry. The Republican Congressional victory the previous election week would not solve all their problems, the oilmen were told.

If this approach catches the spirit of democratic government, it also represents the rationale of modern public relations. Viewed together with oil's entrenched position within government and oil's activities in what is more narrowly viewed as "politics," it provides a key to understanding the political behavior of oil. For public relations is a first line of defense of the organized economic power of the oil industry.

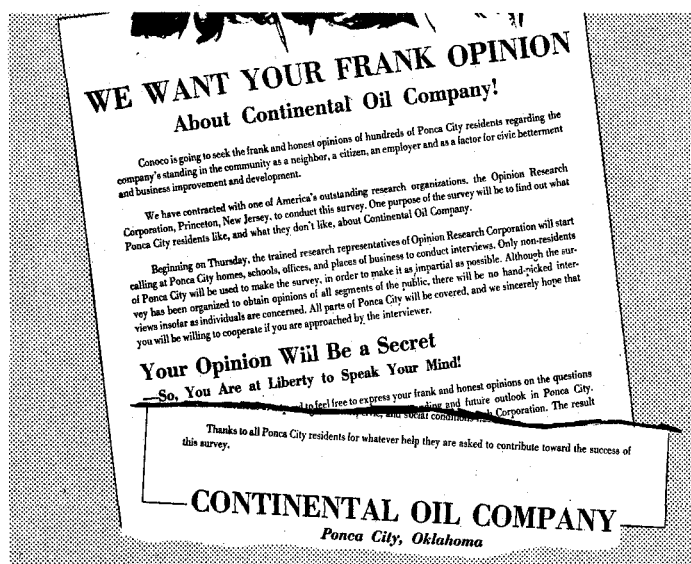
There was nothing new about oil's interest in public relations. It had existed in some forms from the early days of the industry. But there was little need to be defensive in the robber baron period when predatory business practices were judged to be harmonious with the Constitution, natural law and human nature. America was expanding, and oil was an integral part of that

growth. There was no time for democratic or Christian niceties. As John D. Rockefeller Jr. once explained to a Sunday school class, Standard Oil's place illustrated Darwin's survival of the fittest: "The American beauty rose can be produced in the splendor and fragrance which bring cheer to its beholder only by sacrificing the early buds which grow up around it. This is not an evil tendency in business. It is merely the working-out of a law of nature and a law of God." And as Walter Hallanan, chairman of the National Petroleum Council, echoes, nearly a half century later: "The experience of those who have engaged in the discovery and development of our oil resources and in their processing and distribution has demonstrated that only the free are strong and that only the strong can be free. There has been no place in this romantic American adventure for the laggards or weaklings."

If the rules of the game were rough, presumably, however, the citizen-consumer has always been the gainer. But the mounting organized reaction to monopoly, which found its focus in Rockefeller, together with the uneasy popular awareness that the American dream of equal opportunity for all did not quite square with urban and corporate realities, served to turn the industry to the business of achieving mass approval for its practices as well as its products. Early public-relations efforts, essentially drum beating for sales, were adapted to dispelling the image of Rockefeller as a "bad" man. Ivy Lee, hired after the Ludlow massacre, is frequently hailed as the father of modern public relations because of his tactics to make the Rockefellers palatable through emphasis on community deeds. The next stages involved modifying the image of the individual oil company as "bad." Measures were taken to remove the curse from the name "Standard" as well as to make clear that all oil was not "Standard." Today the integrated companies have vast public-relations programs geared to their individual needs as well as industry-wide problems.

In its most sophisticated stage, the public-relations approach has been to assure the nation that the industry and the economic system within which it functions are not "bad," that oil's needs and values are harmonious with those of the American people. There has been a counterpart in American industry's general drive to merchandise the label "free enterprise"; this was created to replace such terms as "competition" and "private enterprise" which seemed so obviously incongruous as

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descriptions of a highly concentrated industrial bureaucracy.

Once oil recovered from its depression scares of the early 'thirties, when its leaders even pleaded with the dangerous New Dealers for tight regulation under a government "czar," like much of American enterprise its major spokesmen realized with horror how perilously close they had come to being an accessory to their own socialization. Never again would oil so abdicate. The API redoubled its co-operative endeavors toward corporate self-government. Public relations were intensified, with big government in general and the New Deal in particular prominent targets.

Oil companies prospered greatly during World War II and their economic positions seemed solid. But there was concern about their postwar relations with government and the public. The disclosures about Jersey Standard's dealings with I. G. Farben, for example, posed a public-relations problem beyond that of one company, even though much of the press played down the charges. Harold Ickes related how the president of one leading oil company told him that the industry would never be able to get over the scandal. When the story first broke, the executive's wife called him from across the continent to ask him if he could get out of oil and go into some "decent" business.

Oil no longer had a formal industry public-relations program, its API committee having been disbanded in 1940 because of fear of inviting further anti-trust action. A new public-relations committee was formed and in 1946 the API listened to their report based upon a "scientific" analysis of what the public thought of oil, as gleaned from some 10,000 interviews. "Those Who Know You Well . . . Think Well Of You" was the Opinion Research Corporation's theme. "There is no indication of the need for a defensive approach. . . . While the public is willing to accept mistaken ideas about the industry, only small percentages at present

have convictions hostile to the industry." There were few public complaints about prices and many compliments about service. But there were three critical areas where the industry lacked support: the widespread impressions that oil holds back new developments, that the companies get together to fix prices and that the industry was essentially a monopoly with little competition.

This, of course, was due to inadequate information and understanding, primarily on the part of those who did not know the industry, assured the study.

The public's great lack of knowledge and absence of opinion about the oil industry is at once your opportunity and vulnerability. No industry ever had a clearer guide to action. When people have no definite opinion about a subject an opinion vacuum exists which is easily filled by the first plausible idea that comes along. Those minds that now present an opinion vacuum on facts and ideas of major importance to the future welfare of the oil industry can be swayed to either friendly or hostile attitudes *depending on which plausible story they hear first.*

As an illustration the study pointed out that when people were asked how retail gas or oil prices were decided, 56 percent indicated they did not know, 13 percent said "they get together" and 31 percent gave some kind of "competitive" answers. But when asked which of the statements presented came closest to their own idea, 57 percent chose "the oil companies get together and set prices for their products" while 31 percent marked "each company sets its own prices to meet competition."

This proved the need to rush in to fill the vacuum by giving the public a few plausible facts about oil. "And if, while convincing them that there are (1) a lot of companies, (2) competing to serve them better, (3) making a lot of products that make life better, (4) treating employees, dealers and customers fairly, (5) making a moderate profit by dint of good management, you can also demonstrate that your heart is in the right place, the future of free enterprise in the oil business will be as solid as in any business because—Lincoln was right. 'Public sentiment is everything'. . . ."

Here then was the analysis of trained social scientists. How was the challenge to be met? By "progressive public relations for the progressive petroleum industry," Mr. Haslam reported to the API.

. . . the oil industry . . . has never created a long-term characterization by which the public could identify it and approve it. . . . In merchandizing products, we try to create one simple impression that can be grasped readily. The same thing has to be done in terms of the industry as a whole!

We recognize the danger of letting the industry be set up in the public mind as essential or basic—attractive as that . . . may seem. In peacetime a characterization like that simply helps keep the industry in the

front line for government encroachment. Thirty-six percent of the people who believe in public ownership of the oil industry do so, they say, because they believe the industry is essential. "Essential" industries invite nationalization.

They "canvassed and checked and cross-checked dozens of possible characterizations," testing for content value, public acceptance and practical applications.

Out of all this study . . . one characterization emerged with a test score substantially higher than all the rest. It is the characterization embodied in the word *progressive*. It gave us what we were seeking, a central theme. That . . . *Petroleum is Progressive*.

. . . This is not a slogan. This is a central theme. . . . Here is a true characterization—one we can live with. Here is a friendly characterization that will be more effective than any other in meeting present and future issues.

. . . For example, the progressive character of the industry is its best defense against regulation. A public impressed with that characterization of that industry is likely to think: "Let it alone—there's no need to nationalize a progressive industry."

. . . This progressive characterization can be used to meet many specific issues. For example, it completely offsets the impression that the industry holds back new developments because, obviously, a progressive industry does not hold back. It goes forward. It improves old products. It pioneers with new ones. It is concerned for the welfare of the community in which it operates.

. . . A progressive industry is worthy of fair profits, and the progressive development of the industry requires it to operate at a profit. If the public feels that an industry is progressive, there will be little tendency to think of it as making too much money.

. . . A progressive industry is by nature a competitive industry. . . . This progressive characterization can be projected all down the line. . . .

With some modification, this has remained the basic approach of the industry. Literature, films, pattern speeches and advertisements all hammer away at the assumed points of vulnerability. To answer the charges of oligopoly and collusion, for example, the propaganda is guided by the Opinion Research Corporation finding of a correlation between idea as to the number of oil companies and favorable attitude toward oil. The industry reiterates a figure of 42,000 independent competing companies, exclusive of the 200,000 gas station operators. "When 84 million adults have one fact they will dismiss this charge [of monopoly] against the oil industry." It insists that "prices of oil products are determined by the same economic laws that affect the prices of other commodities." Where 45 percent of those polled could not name any advances in the manufacture of oil products during the past few years, today the advertisements constantly emphasize new improvements. And as prices have risen since 1946 to become

a potential issue, industry ads have focused on how relatively moderate has been the rise, compared to other commodities and how much more the gasoline dollar buys today. For unconvinced ingrates or perhaps the socialist-minded there are also frequent reminders of how much worse things are for the motorist in Russia, with a full-page picture of a shabby Moscow gas station without service, an API favorite.

The major tactical need, according to the 1946 report, was "grass-roots action to merchandise the friendly ideas and impressions we put out. . . ." To this end, the API's Oil Industry Information Committee has 14 district offices throughout the country, to provide literature, speakers, films and promote special oil events.

"Oil Progress Week" is a major annual undertaking involving such nationwide publicity efforts as radio and television shows, testimonial dinners with the Secretary of Interior and comparable officials as guest speakers, oil-derived clothing fashion shows, oil fairs, between-halves programs at high school football games and "oil-man-for-a-day" programs. With the national office providing basic guidance, this promotion brings into play one of OIIC's proudest instruments—the 25,000 oil people who serve as volunteers on more than 5,000 local committees. (The 1955 target is "the recruitment and indoctrination . . . of a fully-staffed, functioning committee in every community of 3,000 or more persons.") These people, mainly gas station operators, jobbers and employees, theoretically serve as ideal campaigners for the industry, since they tend to be identified in their communities as hard working "independent" businessmen whom the citizen sees as competing for his patron-



"FILLER UP"—SOVIET STYLE. Race photograph shows Russian driver filling his own gasoline tank at one of Moscow's "service" stations. Russian motorists often do so. He usually carries his own gasoline and rubber. Signs on unattended pumps don't announce a brand of gasoline. In fact says: "No Smoking."

THIS IS A MOSCOW "SERVICE" STATION
Unretouched Pictures Show Conditions Motorists Face Today In Russia

From behind the Iron Curtain come recent photographs of a typical Moscow "service" station showing what the Russian motorist is up against. American editors who recently visited Russia report that even the fortunate few who do own cars have serious motoring problems. (Only 1 out of every 3,000 Russian families owns a car, while America has more cars than there are families.) At the few filling stations service is non-existent and gasoline is rationed. Black market gasoline, for those who can afford it, costs \$1.00 a gallon. Travel outside city limits is almost impossible if you aren't a party official. Conditions like these are what you can expect under a system where all industry is controlled by the State and where there is no competition for the motorist's business. It's far different over here! Americans are used to having many independent service station operators compete for their business by offering them the world's finest oil products at reasonable prices. U.S. gasoline today, for instance, costs about the same as gasoline did in 1925—only the taxes are higher. This contrast between conditions here and in Russia shows once again how important it is to all of us that America's system of privately-managed industry be continued.

Oil Industry Information Committee
AMERICAN PETROLEUM INSTITUTE, 50 W. 50th St., New York 20, N.Y.

—ANOTHER VIEW OF ONE "SERVICE" STATION shows Russian motorist's daily problems. Car is unattended and driver never usually goes to it himself. With only 3 filling stations for all of Moscow's 2 million inhabitants, cars have to wait in line.

age and their livelihood through courtesy and service. Upon their shoulders, they are repeatedly told, rests the burden of protecting the entire oil industry from the threats of government ownership or control.

... As a progressive oil man, you know that no one part of the oil industry can prosper unless the industry as a whole is free to serve the public in its own way—free from unnecessary restraints and regulations. . . . If misconceptions are allowed to persist, eventually they will threaten the very existence of the oil industry, and the jobs of oil men and women everywhere. And there is another, even greater, threat hidden in these mistaken ideas. If it were possible to undermine public confidence in the oil and other businesses, it would be possible to destroy the public's belief in the American competitive enterprise system itself.

The volunteers are expected to reach local churches, clubs, mass media and schools and to draw attention to oil in every way possible. Periodic "meet-the-press" projects entail bringing to every newspaper and radio station a fact book about oil while getting better acquainted with the editors, reporters and broadcasters. At the end of 1954 OIIC reported that 85 percent of all daily newspapers, 78 percent of all radio stations, 90 percent of all TV stations and 38 percent of all weekly newspapers in the OIIC districts were personally visited by oil men, and this year oil men are attempting to reach every daily and weekly newspaper editor and every radio and TV program manager in the country.

In the OIIC's 1953 report to the API, included among its accomplishments is the following information:

Specially prepared editorials and articles dealing with the oil industry were placed in many national magazines in 1953. These included *The Saturday Evening Post*, *Time*, *Newsweek*, *Pathfinder*, *Popular Mechanics*, *Popular Science* and *Business Week*. Numerous news and feature stories were placed in the daily press. Wire and photo services . . . syndicated stories.

The 1954 report tells of continued article assistance and promotion. "Instances of misinformation in a few articles were answered again with facts, in friendly and personal meetings with editors. Arrangements were made in some cases to review future articles for accuracy before their appearance. Book publishers, too, were aided by manuscript reviews. . . ."

Schools have become a major target. OIIC's staff has prepared a series of textbooklets and filmstrips dealing with science, social studies, economics and conservation. Oil programs have been introduced into some 5,000 high schools and the OIIC reports that 1.6 million texts have been distributed in the current school year. "We just don't dump texts or send them out," explained the API man in charge of the school program. "We work through grass roots. We want to reach high-school kids; that's the way to get the whole country thinking our way eventually." They speak of ultimately reaching every single high-school student and then the grade schools.

The local committeemen visit the school boards, principals and teachers to gain formal acceptance. As one local news story reported: "Representatives of the oil industry, high-school principals and science teachers will meet at the Westchester Country Club next Thursday to consider advisability of incorporating studies of petroleum production and distribution into curricula."

Some districts have special "meet the teacher" weeks; others sponsor banquets. Teachers colleges, summer workshops and school conventions are increasingly covered, with one inducement being attractive visual aids to bring "realism" into the classroom of the harried schoolmarm. Farmers and clubwomen are also regarded as specialized audiences with speakers, films, exhibits and advertisements aimed at their organizations, publications and fairs.

Even the Cub Scouts, ages 8 to 11, observed *Oil Month* last year, with a million Cub Scouts busily engaged in putting together and coloring cut-out kits showing the importance of oil in American life. A booklet telling the story of the competitive oil industry was thoughtfully included with each kit for the den mothers to read to the cubs at each pack meeting.

IN MANY districts there are special films and tours for the Scouts, and on the West Coast some Boy Scouts benefitted from a geology counselor at their summer camp, whose salary was contributed by a number of oil companies. The possibilities are apparently limitless and the results rewarding, advises the OIIC in literature to jobbers urging their participation in this public relations:

As part of an educational program arranged by a Kansas oilmen's club, fifty-two selected Boy Scouts made a tour through every type of oil facility in the area. A police escort accompanied the caravan and guides at each installation explained what their guests saw. The boys were conducted through drilling and producing facilities, a refinery, a pipe line terminal, a bulk plant and a service station.

"Before they left the service station," a host jobber explains, "all hands tore into hot dogs, ice cream and soda pop. Finally, 52 tired and thoroughly stuffed young gentlemen were delivered to their respective doorsteps—much the wiser, and far more friendly to the oil industry as a result of their experience."

Adds the API: "See what participation in the OIIC program can do, Mr. Jobber?"

Thus, the API strives to fill the opinion vacuum, generally careful to avoid specific references to controversies such as "tidelands." "No one, to our knowledge, has worked more diligently or intelligently than OIIC," Dr. Claude Robinson, president of the Opinion Research Corporation told the API eight years after his original report. ". . . It is our professional judgment that OIIC has written and is writing a significant chapter in the art of public persuasion."

(A fifth article in this series appears next week)



The Superficial Aspect

How Many Won't Vote?

With the Presidential year only three months away the American public is faced with two queries but, as most people believe, only one question. The two queries are:

- (1) Will he run again?
- (2) Can he win again?

The experts, pollsters, pundits and politicians of both parties seem to be convinced that the first is a question, but the second is not. There remain, however, some contumacious objectors who insist that the first is a foregone conclusion, but that the second is a real question, and that without counting on any *deus ex machina* such as a business depression or an outbreak of war.

Their argument runs along this line: as for the first query, asking if Eisenhower will run again is like asking if a life-terminer will continue to reside on Alcatraz island in 1956, which is not a question. He will, because nothing short of death or palsy can get him off.

The President is the prisoner of his own victory in 1952, and his cell door was double-locked by the election of 1954. In 1952 Eisenhower accepted the highest honor that the party can confer upon a man. In common decency he must make the best return he can. The best return he can make is to run again, for the election of 1954 proved that even with his active aid, but without his presence on the ticket, the party could not hold Congress, much less win the White House as well.

So if Eisenhower were to refuse to run he would by his own act be consigning the party that honored him to almost certain defeat. In such an event "ingrate" would be the mildest of the terms of vituperation that would be poured upon him, and Ike has the military officer's extreme sensitivity to criticism touching his personal honor.

The second query, however, is a question. To assume that if he runs he will certainly win is to take no account of the abnormality of the vote in 1952. In the preceding five Presidential elections the percentage of potential voters who actually went to the polls averaged 55.1, but the figure for the election of 1952 was 62.7. That is to say, the vote that year was abnormally large by 7.6 percent, which, in a potential vote of 98 million, just about accounted for Eisenhower's plurality of 7.5 million.

Eisenhower did not win by Democratic votes. On the contrary, more people voted for Stevenson than ever voted for any other Democrat with the single exception of Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1936. But neither did he win by Republican votes, because all Republican candidates for Congress combined polled 212,000 fewer votes than all Democratic candidates. The party's microscopic majority in the 83rd Congress was due to the distribution, not to the size of the Republican vote. In 1954 even that majority vanished.

Eisenhower was elected because about eight million people who never before had had interest enough in politics to cast a vote went out and voted for him. It was strictly an Eisenhower vote; neither Democratic nor Republican; but without it the Republican Party is beaten, as 1954 demonstrated.

As of today, then, the election would seem to hinge on his ability to bring those eight million chronic non-voters to the polls a second time. There are, of course, two factors either of which might invalidate this reasoning: first, the Democrats might nominate a man who would lose a large part of the Stevenson vote; or, second, some extraordinary event within the next year may operate either greatly to enhance or greatly to diminish the President's popularity.

But supposing that neither occurs, and things move along pretty much as they are moving now, it is reasonable to infer that the strictly Eisenhower vote will appear again only if the conditions that brought it out in 1952 still obtain in 1956. Which raises the question, why did people who never voted before vote for Eisenhower?

Obviously it was not on the basis of his political record, for he had none. The non-voters did not turn out for Eisenhower the statesman, but for Eisenhower the national hero; they voted for him exactly as they voted for Grant and for Zachary Taylor—as a reward for military services rendered. In short, it was a sentimental vote.

But if there is anything in the world more uncertain than the course of an Atlantic hurricane, it is the course of a sentimentalist in politics. As he votes for unsound reasons, so he refuses to vote for reasons equally unsound and therefore unpredictable. Eisenhower has been on the whole rather a dull President, and your sentimentalist is usually a miracle-monger. Without doubt some of the eight million will refuse to vote again, merely because they are bored. The question is, how many? It is unanswerable, but anyone who doubts that it is a real question is ignoring the lessons of all the Presidential campaigns since Jefferson upset the Federalist apple-cart, and that was in the year 1800. GERALD W. JOHNSON

BOOKS & COMMENT

Stephen Crane's *Primrose Path*

by R. W. Stallman

MAGGIE: *A Girl of the Streets* made its first appearance in paper-bound mustard-yellow covers with a pen name for the author and with no name at all for the publisher. No firm dared to associate its name with such a book, and no newsstand or bookstore (except Bren-

for tigers, not for women and men." What offended the squeamish morality of the Gilded Age was the then seamy realism of Crane's novel. They didn't want the "truth" exposed, but in *Maggie* they got just that. Even William Dean Howells, the leading crusader for Realism in the nineties, thought *Maggie* too realistic—it wasn't the kind of realism he had asked for, and he advised the young author to remove the profanities, which he felt would shock the public.

RE-ASSESSMENT: 1955

tano's) cared to touch it. A friend of Crane tells us that four men were hired "to sit all day one in front of another in New York elevated trains, reading intently and holding up the volume so that passengers would think the metropolis was *Maggie*-mad."

Published at the author's expense, it was a complete dud in 1893. By 1930 when fewer than thirty copies were known to exist, this first edition brought for an inscribed copy the fetching price of \$3,700.

After Stephen Crane had soared to fame on *The Red Badge of Courage* (1895), Appleton issued in hard-covers a revised edition of *Maggie*, and the reviewers went "*Maggie*-mad"—but not in the way Crane hoped for. Not pleasant, not cheerful; so run the 1896 reviews. Too coarse and vulgar; "too hopeless, too full of misery, degradation and dirt. The reader flounders in a mire of pessimism, never once receiving from the author the offer of a helping hand or a word of encouragement, and the memory of the book is a nightmare. . . ." Surely the author can find nicer subjects for his unquestionable talent! Why give to American readers, asked the *Woman's Journal*, such a revolting picture of New York life? Reeking with profanity, the lowdown brutal dialect of the slums, how could such a book "find acceptance among the better and purer classes of the reading world?" Said the *Nation*: "We can feel only that it is a pity that the gutter is so dirty, and turn in another direction."

This book, said the *Boston Globe*, "is like a lump of red, raw beef. It is food

So shocked were the ladies of Port Jervis that they let the Crane family know that they didn't think it proper to receive Stephen into their homes. "It was the voice of the slums," Hamlin Garland pronounced in his 1893 review. "It is not written by a dilettante; it is written by one who has lived the life." The irony of this is the fact that Crane did not know the Bowery intimately until he had written one or two drafts of his novel. He invented the plot of *Maggie*. Appearing six years before Norris' *McTeague*, *Maggie* was the first social exposé in fiction to render truthfully How the Other Half Lives—the title of Jacob Riis' sociological study of New York tenements.

The publisher's blurb called *Maggie* "a real and strenuous tale"—and strenuous it is, but as the *Literary Digest* said, it is more "impressionistic" than "real." Not Realism but Impressionism defines Crane's technique. Frank Norris thought Crane concerned himself too much with style at the expense of truth-to-life and, reviewing *Maggie* in the *San Francisco Wave*, he complained that the characters seemed deficient in psychological realism. "It is as if Mr. Crane had merely used the 'machinery' and 'business' of slum life to develop certain traits or to portray certain emotions and passions that *might happen anywhere*." Norris was right, but for the wrong reasons. He was mistaken in wanting *Maggie* to be otherwise than it is. Psychological realism belongs not here but in *The Red Badge*. In both novels the realism is an

invented realism, not studied from life but created, and created in such a way as to render an illusion of reality.

People in fiction are composed of words, not of flesh and blood, and to identify them with reality is absurd. Though Crane's characters are not individuals but types, individualized characters are no more true-to-life than "mere types"; their anonymity reflects his intention in *Maggie*, which was (said Crane) "to show that environment is a tremendous thing in the world, and often shapes lives regardless." That is his theme, and he proves it by fashioning his "environment" to grow round his characters. By paired and contrasting images he reinforces his theme, and he vivifies his characters into "life" by metaphor. His plot is less impressive than his theme, and the theme less impressive than the style, the language that shapes it.

CRANE once defined a novel as "a succession of sharply outlined pictures, which pass before the reader like a panorama, leaving each its definite impression." *Maggie*, divided into 19 chapters or episodes, is a panorama of impressionistic vignettes, disconnected scenes that reel off with much the same jerky, nervous effect that early motion pictures convey. Not logic but mood defines the relationship between images and episodes. Moods of romantic sentiment, illusion or hope collapse in contradictory moods of futility, disillusionment or despair. Constructed like Flaubert's *Madame Bovary* by alternating moods, illusions, shattered by realities, Crane's *Maggie* is a Bowery version of *Emma Bovary*.

It is because it is apparently no more than a sequence of tableaux that *Maggie* is said to lack structural unity, but what has gone unnoticed by Crane's critics is the pattern and purpose of everything in the novel, how every seemingly disconnected part is designed to form the meaning of the whole. Crane's logic is not at the surface. Every scene is a scene of physical or mental confusion.

Crane begins with a scene of chaos and disorder: Jimmie (*Maggie's* brother) defends the "honor" of Rum Alley against the gutter-urchins of Devil's Row. His illusions of grandeur suffer degradation when he is dragged home by his drunken father, and his deed of valor ends in confused and "distorted versions of the fight." The novel begins

with a fight, continues with fights and altercations, and culminates in the pitched barroom battle between Pete, the resplendent barkeeper with the chronic sneer, and Jimmie aided by a Bowery tough who together aim to avenge Pete's betrayal of Maggie's honor.

• Disorder and confusion pattern every episode: Formidable tenement women, "with uncombed hair and disordered dress," scream in frantic quarrels; Maggie's mother turns the household into a battlefield, smashes all the furniture and wrestles with Jimmie like a gladiator, scraps with street-urchins and defies "the universe to appear and do battle." They challenge the universe, they disdain their environment under the illusion of being superior to it, but meanwhile they contend not against it but only against each other, seeking release from it in violence. They escape it in "places of forgetfulness," in saloons, "hilarious" halls of "irregular shape," and in mission houses where the preacher exhorts the sinners with "You are damned." To which the ragged people demand: "Where's our soup?"

Jimmie, the truck-driver, imagines himself a sun-charioteer and, seated on his throne, he challenges the "god-driver" who obstructs his path. He disdains the stars: "Deh moon looks like hell, don't it?" Crane is a master of the satiric, the mock-heroic, and the contradictory effect: Maggie "blossomed in a mud-puddle." Her dim thoughts search "for far away lands where the little hills sing together in the morning. Under the trees of her dream-gardens there had always walked a lover." In Pete, her ideal man, she finds a knight-at-arms and confuses him with "a golden sun." Pete is a Bowery fashion-plate of social decorum; his "aristocratic person looked as if it might soil." As a villain he is pretty slick: his hair is curled down in an oiled bang, and his patent-leather shoes shine "like weapons."

After Pete has ruined Maggie and rejected her for the more experienced Nell, Maggie, having been driven from home, wanders the streets aimlessly and accosts timidly a priest only to be side-stepped by this image of benevolence and respectability—"He did not risk it to save a soul." Maggie is fundamentally decent, but trapped by heredity and environment she has no choice but to turn prostitute.

The true villain of this comic melo-

drama is Maggie's environment, including the persons and institutions composing it—notably the church. Crane's mockery of the church as a religious force in the nether-world of the city is epitomized in the scene at the theatre, where the stage-props are "happy-hued church windows from behind which a choir sings 'Joy to the world'." To Maggie and the rest of the audience this was transcendental realism. Joy always within, and they, like the actors, inevitably without." Transcendental Realism epitomizes the machinery of the whole novel, for everyone in it transcends reality in self-deluding dreams and maudlin sentiment.

Maggie is the story not of "A Girl of the Streets" but of a good girl declining downwards from good to bad. Yet Maggie "did not feel like a bad woman. To her knowledge she had never seen any better." Crane sees his characters from an ironic outlook, whereas they themselves see themselves not at all as they are. Thus Jimmie cannot forgive his sister for disgracing the family's "honor," and though he has himself despoiled a couple of women, he regards himself as a virtuous sort of fellow. Pete, the destroyer of Maggie's virtue, swaggers nevertheless with an air of "respectability"; and his eyes well into tears as he thinks of the purity of his motives. And Maggie's mother, over the corpse of the daughter she has brutalized and driven from home, weeps

an orgy of maudlin, self-pitying sentiment: "Oh, yes, I'll fergive her! I'll fergive her!" What Crane fashions in this final episode is a parody of pious sentiment. The grotesque buffoonery of this mock lamentation is comic enough, but tragedy underlies it: all is sham, even between mother and daughter.

Maggie's downfall is assured from the start. She ends by drowning herself in the river. Some months after she has turned prostitute she street-walks the Bowery in search of a customer; her appeal is ignored or rejected by the dozen men who pass her by. They represent, in sum, the environment which has rejected her. In a passage not reprinted in any text of *Maggie* subsequent to the 1893 edition, Maggie meets a grizzled fat man with bleared eyes and disordered teeth. He's her last chance, and he mocks her: "His whole body gently quivered and shook like that of a dead jelly fish. Chuckling and leering he followed the girl of the crimson legions."

Greatly admired by H. G. Wells, Edward Garnett and T. E. Lawrence, *Maggie* remains today vigorously alive. It is a work of art. Its plot is a sentimental melodrama like Norris' *McTeague*, but in style it is not sentimentalized. The ironic viewpoint from which Crane designs his forthright moral and social intent makes the crucial difference. That difference is what saves *Maggie* from the dustbin of outdated sociological novels.

Life in the Face of Absurdity

by Waldo Frank

CAMUS wrote the long essay which takes up most of this volume during the Resistance, facing death daily in the Nazi-violated streets of Paris. It is the motto theme of his subsequent work (it was first published in 1942) and is developed in a strict, dy-

The Myth of Sisyphus and other essays,
by Albert Camus; translated by Justin
O'Brien (Knopf; \$3.50).

namic and sparse form of statement which recalls the baroque fugues and canons. The theme is that human life is absurd, because man by nature must reason yet reason cannot explain him;

and because man must strive for consciousness while consciousness confronts him only with ignominy and anguish.

Thus far, the ground is Pascal's and Kierkegaard's; but Camus rejects their leap, which he calls escape, into the acceptance of a God whose inscrutable being by definition erases or justifies the absurdity of human existence. Following Heidegger, Camus refuses presence or proof to God, who to him is pretext for not facing the absurd. But he refuses also the German's solipsistic moment of reality in death, which Camus finds to be an elaborate form of suicide; and the German's submission to society which by his book becomes betrayal.

Camus accepts the absurd which is human life, because it *is* life. He rejects suicide as he rejects God; for him, both are evasions, although the first is real, the second a dream. To argue away life's absurdity in any form; to ignore it by any means, is for Camus to denature the quality of man's existence. He finds himself—like all humans who can see—absurdly alive; this then shall be his premise and conclusion. And in this act of life, which is animal faith, the sun and the earth become his immediate possession.

As an exercise in philosophy, Camus' syllogism is not respectable. Its premise has two parts: *one*, every coherent value ascribed to human life by religion, reason, culture, is demonstrably "not proven"; and *two*, human life is absurd. This is poor logic, because the term "absurd," connoting the very values Camus rejects in his premise, itself contradicts the premised lack of values. One can say of the equation: *one plus one equals minus one*, that it is absurd, only because a value has been implicitly given to *one*. One can call life absurd only by a positive axiom or measure making it absurd. Camus, denying the measure of value and yet employing it to prove his case, begs the question.

Pascal and Kierkegaard, finding the measure of value by which human life becomes absurd, in God; Nietzsche, who "killed" this God and proceeded to construct an ethic on the godliness of the individual will-to-power; even Heidegger, who measures life by death, are stricter logicians than Camus. One might even call Camus' metaphysic absurd, since the elements of its premise are not cogent. Yet his essay is far from absurd, since the elements of its substance are full of life. This prose, indeed, is an organic and passionate poem; a construct of words sonorous, vibrant, penetrant and strong. Here is a paradox worth resolving.

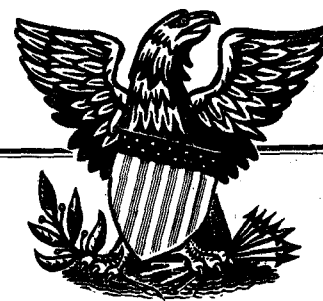
IN his brief preface, Camus calls his essay the most personal of his writings. It is indeed an archetypal self-portrait of modern youth in the France of 1940. He fights the Nazi plague in the heart of Europe, not on the comparatively easy terms of open battle but in the dark, treacherous, internecine solitudes of the Resistance. And as he fights, he speaks—in ideological terms that justify the absurdities of Hitler! For what

could better symbolize the un-reason, frivolously cruel, of human life than this empty anti-person murdering the glories of Europe? Yet as Camus speaks his apologia for the *existence* of Hitler, he emerges as the champion, despite all his reasons, of just these glories! The word that describes Albert Camus is "noble." Here he is, the educated Frenchman, arguing away every value of his France in words which, however one dissent from them, are the very music and substance of nobility.

The prose of Camus (admirably Englished by Mr. O'Brien) recalls the prose of Pascal, the versified prose of Corneille, even at times Racine. Since their generation, this plenitude is gone. Voltaire's prose has lucidity without depth; Rousseau's is luminous, mobile and potential of chaos. From Chateaubriand to Gide, French prose—the best of Europe—is a huge gamut of sensibility and reasoning; but that wonderful encapsulation of substance, essence and personal conviction which Rabelais, Montaigne, Descartes and Pascal—although mutually hostile—shared, is absent. Camus recovers it.

YET the message of his prose is the deliberate denial of the values of them all! Imagine a Hindu, nurtured on Veda and Vedanta, whose memory of them is erased by a deep psychic trauma. Imagine a Chinese, schooled in the Analects, Mencius, Tzu Ssu, Chuang Chou and the Tao Te Ching, suddenly alienated from them. They are invaded, let us say, by a body of conviction which repudiates the world that bred them; they voice their repudiation; but, unconsciously, their words reflect and continue the cultural world they reject and which shaped them.

So far as I know, this has not occurred in India and China. It is the common traumatic experience of modern Europe. It explains phenomena so disparate as the satanism of the Marquis de Sade, the "Church" of the Positivists, Marx and Nietzsche. An organism of evidence, grown in the Mediterranean of Jew, Greek, Roman, creates the values of Europe. By an intricate process there is no space to discuss here, these values secrete phagocytes which become virulent, active counter-values. The body of Europe's Faith dissolves. The anti-Europeanism of the totalitarian is one form of the dissolution; the rhetori-



*"...to show
the world
by one great
successful
experiment
of what man
is capable."*

AMERICA AND EUROPE face each other across an ocean (and one might add, a language) which has been both a link and a barrier. The first colonies began as a transatlantic bridgehead of Europe. With political independence and the opening of the frontier, the colonial fringe became the Eastern seaboard of a new continent. It is in the interplay of these two themes in American history — the Atlantic and the continental — that Frank Thistlethwaite finds the key to the dualism of American relations with Europe, to the ambivalence of American outlook, conscious of its links with the past, and at the same time determined "to show the world by one great successful experiment of what man is capable."

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cal exhortation of the preachers (chiefly practiced in the USA) is another. But there are still creators, children of the great cultural mother who reject while they continue. Camus is perhaps the purest and noblest of these.

He writes: "Even men without a gospel have their Mount of Olives." His work incarnates the crucifixion of the articulated faith of Europe on the cross of its own actualized logic. Because he has the temperament to live this dilemma, the moral nobility to face it, his sparse work is a Passion. It has the substance and strict form of a cultural experience. In the depth of the absurdity he accepts, not by logic but by love, his acceptance of life is resurrected.

But the melodic starkness of Camus' testimony reveals also his limits. Europe's creative age of faith (which of course extends to the growth of democ-

racy, political and economic), developed no methods for the acquisition and increment of the knowledge from which faith issues. This lack of method explains the nescience to which genius may fall: as in the case of a Nietzsche or the atheist existentialists. The "absurd" of Camus, the "nausea" of Sartre, in final analysis, are symptoms of nescience: products of that dearth of psychological technics which has been the nemesis of Europe—and will condemn the Americas unless they learn Europe's lesson. When Camus writes of mysticism and of art, he reveals his lack of basic knowledge. All the more poignant is the poetry of his life-assertion, out of despair and a sense of the absurd. His work reveals what the positivists have not yet discovered: the organic relation of vitality and ethic. If France can mature this theme, there may still be a Europe.

Their memories are, mercifully, bad.

In view of what I have just said about Beckett's world, it may sound perverse to describe any of his novels as comic; but *Murphy* certainly is, and so are long passages in the other novels. Murphy is "a seedy solipsist" who indubitably possesses a self but is rarely allowed to enjoy it in his own narcissistic way; too many other people who lack selves of their own, or need him to complete theirs, pursue and bedevil him. His chief aim in life is to "come alive in his mind" as often as possible, which he achieves by tying himself naked to his rocking chair and rocking back and forth until he induces trance. There are three zones in his mind—light, half light, and dark; he spends more and more time "in the dark, in the will-lessness, a mote in its absolute freedom." When forced to take a job, he becomes an attendant in a private asylum; at once he envies the patients, especially the schizophrenics. Despairing of ever becoming a schizo, he makes up his mind to return to Celia, a prostitute who loves him; that night he is burned to death in one of his trances. Those who need him must learn to do without him, if they can.

Murphy contains some of the most beautifully cadenced English prose written in the twentieth century, yet its lyricism always remains classical, witty, edged with irony. Chamberlain's England, alas, had no ear for it. *Watt*, though recognizably a transition between *Murphy* and the French novels, seems to me a disaster. The cadences of *Murphy* have vanished along with its flow of comic incident; Beckett seems to be trying to make something out of nothing, to write a book about a person who has no personality. True, he succeeded in doing just that with *L'Innommable*, but the French novel is an interior monologue, whereas most of *Watt* is narrated impersonally from an omniscient viewpoint. The change in technique makes all the difference—or most of it.

Molloy is divided into two first-person narratives—the first Molloy's, the second that of Jacques Moran, agent. Molloy, an elderly cripple, is writing his in a room that he believes to have been his mother's, though he does not know how

Beckett and the Search for Self

by Vivian Mercier

SAMUEL BECKETT is an Anglo-Irishman who now writes in French. His Paris reputation, although he belonged to Joyce's circle as early as 1929, really dates from 1951, when he published the first two (*Molloy* and *Malone meurt*) of three novels written directly in French. The success of his two-act play, *En attendant Godot*, which began

Molloy, by Samuel Beckett (Grove; \$3).

a long run at the small Theatre Babylone in January, 1953, and has since, I believe, been performed in Germany and Italy, made him known to a much wider French public. About the middle of the same year *L'Innommable*, the third French novel, was published. *Waiting for Godot*, Beckett's own English translation (adaptation, almost) of his "tragicomedy" was published last year in New York by Grove Press. This fall the same publisher is issuing a translation of *Molloy* made by Patrick Bowles in collaboration with the author. Beckett's works in English include two novels, *Murphy* (London, 1938; Paris, in the author's French translation, 1947) and *Watt* (Paris, in English, 1953, but completed in 1945).

In assimilating French language and

culture, Beckett has not himself become assimilated—an extraordinary achievement for an Anglo-Irishman. The typical Anglo-Irish boy growing up learns that he is not quite Irish almost before he can talk; later he learns that he is far from being English either. The pressure on him to become either wholly English or wholly Irish can erase segments of his individuality for good and all. "Who am I?" is the question that every Anglo-Irishman must answer, even if it takes him a lifetime, as it did Yeats. This search for a self—sometimes combined with the urge to annihilate it when found—is explored and exploited in the five novels of Samuel Beckett, to the exclusion of almost everything else that we normally expect from a novel. Or so I believe.

A glance at the surface of Beckett's world is in order before we seek to penetrate it. A depressing world it is. Beckett's heroes learn to live without hope or else they receive what they have wished for when they can no longer enjoy it. Congenitally ugly, they are usually old and crippled as well. They are born poor and incapable of earning a living. Almost to a man they wear derby hats, with or without brims, which they often do not take off even when in bed. Their pockets contain pebbles, broken pipes, anything that has no value.

Next Week

The Portrait of a Lady
A great novel by Henry James
re-assessed by Leon Edel

he got there. Once a week a man brings him money and takes away what he has written. Most of his narrative—so rambling as to better deserve the name of interior monologue—tells of a journey in search of his mother, during which he becomes progressively more crippled, until he is dragging himself along the ground through a forest, with the help of his crutches, at the rate of fifteen paces a day. Among the episodes preceding this final phase are a love passage and a fight so abject that only a Beckett could imagine them. Finally Molloy makes his way out of the forest and hears a voice say, "Don't fret, Molloy, we're coming." His story ends with the words "Molloy could stay, where he happened to be."

MORAN's narrative adheres much more closely to chronological order. It begins on the Sunday when a messenger named Gaber brought him instructions from their employer, Youdi, ordering him to go and find Molloy. Moran was then a tyrannically orderly man, a widower who nagged his only son "for his own good," an excessively scrupulous and yet hypocritical Catholic. Moran never did find Molloy nor succeed in remembering what he was to do if he found him, but after reaching the Molloy country he was ordered by Youdi (via Gaber) to return home at once. By then his son had robbed him and run away, he himself had killed a man, and he had become a cripple like Molloy. It took him months to get home, propping himself on his umbrella, and in the meanwhile his home and all his possessions had gone to rack and ruin. But he feels happy and free as never before.

Molloy has no sense of time. He is not sure when the events that he narrates happened, or even whether he has them in the right order. He has no unified will, nothing but instinctual drives like the one forcing him towards his mother. He cannot adjust to the external world.

Moran, on the other hand, is at first chock-full of anxiety and guilt. Gradually, as he comes to identify himself more and more with Molloy and decides that he has been a man long enough, his anxiety and guilt disappear. The ego is being reabsorbed by the id; selfhood as we know it is being annihilated.

It is possible that the successive novels of the French trilogy—if it is indeed a

trilogy and not three unconnected novels—correspond respectively to the three zones of Murphy's mind: light, half-light, and dark.

A more probable interpretation of *Malone meurt* and *L'Innommable* can, however, be given in terms of selfhood. Malone has a self that he dislikes and has constantly tried to escape; always too serious, he has never been able to play; now, at the point of death, he is determined to write the story of a man wholly unlike himself: "... on the eve of ceasing to be I am managing to be another." But his success is only momentary; the life of his hero, whom he first calls Saposcat and then Macmann, gets grimmer and grimmer and doubtless more like Malone's own, until it ends in Macmann's being a witness of an insane mass murder. The story of Macmann (*i.e.*, son of man) is interrupted frequently by Malone's interior monologue. Like Molloy, Malone is by himself in a room, writing away, while the barest necessities of life are supplied him by someone he cannot see; his only visit seems to be from an undertaker come to measure him.

If Malone's self is waiting to die, the Unnameable's is unwilling to be born—or at any rate to admit its own existence. The question to be answered is no longer, "Who am I?" but "Am I?" The Unnameable refuses to accept what he says, or rather thinks, as evidence that he exists. Some mysterious others ("they") are trying to convince the Unnameable that he exists by thinking for him: "They say they, in speaking of themselves, that's so that I'll think that it's I who am speaking." But if they cannot prove that he does exist, he cannot prove that he does not: "Or I say they in speaking of I don't know who, that's so that I'll think that it isn't I who am speaking." This kind of thing goes

on for most of *L'Innommable's* more than 250 pages. The only variety occurs when the Unnameable speaks of possible lives that he might (may?) have had under the name of Mahood or Worm. Are we perhaps at the center of the closed world of a schizophrenic? The most fantastic thing about this fantastic *tour de force* is that one goes on reading it to the end which is no end:

... perhaps they have already carried me to the threshold of my story, in front of the door which opens on my story, that would astonish me, if it opens, it's going to be me, it's going to be silence, there where I am, I don't know, I'll never know, in the silence one doesn't know, I must continue, I'm going to continue.

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Notes on Contributors

R. W. STALLMAN is on the English faculty of the University of Connecticut. He recently edited *Stephen Crane: Stories and Tales* for Vintage Books. WALDO FRANK has written books in many fields: most recently, a novel, *Not Heaven*. VIVIAN MERCIER is a critic of modern literature. WILL HERBERG is the author of a new book, *Protestant-Catholic-Jew*. CHARLES B. FORCEY is on the faculty of Miami University.

Two Philosophies of the "Social Self"

by Will Herberg

AS REINHOLD Niebuhr recently pointed out, one's understanding of the nature of the self may be taken as defining one's entire outlook on man and society. Prevalent today are two antithetical conceptions of the self: At one extreme is the view in which the self is seen as a self-enclosed unit with only external and incidental relations to

The Social Self, by Paul E. Pfuete (Bookman; \$4.50).

other selves; it is a view that gives us an individualism of self-sufficient autonomy and social atomism. At the other extreme is the conception of the self as "really" no more than a cell in some larger whole; this leads to a totalistic collectivism that is both spiritual and social. Both of these conceptions are ultimately destructive of the self, the one through sterilizing the self into solitary impotence, the other through dissolving it in the all-devouring collective. As against these one-sided doctrines there is the much more profound view that sees the self as irreducibly personal, and yet as realizing itself only in genuine interpersonal relations with other selves. Much of recent social and psychological inquiry has apparently been converging in this direction, and thinkers of the most diverse backgrounds and outlooks have identified themselves with some such conception of the "social self." In this significant study, Paul E. Pfuete examines the thinking of Martin Buber, the German-Jewish religious existentialist, and George Herbert Mead, the American social behaviorist, and finds a surprising area of agreement in their conceptions of the self. Mr. Pfuete is perhaps too eager to discover similarities, but his basic thesis—that Buber and Mead agree in seeing the self as real and yet in some sense social, real through being social—is convincingly argued and impressively documented.

Mr. Pfuete succeeds in showing that because of its narrow naturalistic bias, Mead's version of the "social self" is considerably less satisfactory than Buber's. Mead's lack of a sense of transcendence makes it difficult, if not im-

possible, for him to find adequate grounding for the uniqueness of the self; nor can Mead, who restricts the self's relations to those it has with itself and with other human selves, really succeed in preserving the self from engulfment in the social whole. Buber understands this very well. By insisting that a genuine I-Thou relation between man and man involves, and is rooted in, a genuine relation with the Eternal Thou, Buber is able to do justice to the un-

encompassable dimension of the self and to its resistance to every form of corporate engulfment. To preserve his humanness, man must recognize his authentic relation to the transcendent. This is the heart of Buber's anthropology, and from it stems the radical difference between his conception of the self realizing itself in the I-Thou relation and Mead's conception of the self establishing itself in terms of the "generalized other." It is a difference that, in one form or another, recurs at every level of social thinking, and Mr. Pfuete's volume is to be welcomed for the light it casts on the problem.

Diplomacy in Microcosm

by Charles B. Forcey

CHARLES VEVIER's *The United States and China, 1906-1913*, is a book that handles with admirable deftness events of unusual complexity.

The book revolves around the efforts of New York investment bankers and State Department officials in the "dollar

The United States and China, 1906-1913, by Charles Vevier (Rutgers; \$5.50).

diplomacy" era to inject "realism" into John Hay's earlier rather idealistic Open Door policy for China. As such it provides a case study for that great debate over realism and idealism in United States foreign policy that Hans Morgenthau and George Kennan have brought home to our own generation.

For what the financiers of the time—Edward H. Harriman, Jacob Schiff, and J. P. Morgan—tried to do was to give the United States a strong "national interest" in China. They hoped through profitable investments in railroads and trade to make America's concern for the independence of China a diplomatic reality. Symbolically enough for those who would weigh the realistic elements of policy against the idealistic, the bankers' efforts began in the booming time of Theodore Roosevelt's power politics and withered under the missionary diplomacy of William Jennings Bryan and Woodrow Wilson.

Willard Straight, who was the prime mover behind the bankers' efforts, held within himself all of financial diplomacy's conflicts between realism and idealism. Idealism was evident enough in his sincere, though perhaps naïve, conviction that a definite American interest in China would protect that land from other powers. It was evident, too, in his support of Theodore Roosevelt's Bull Moose crusade in 1912 and in his willingness, along with his wife, the former Dorothy Whitney, to back Herbert Croly in founding the *New Republic* two years later. But Straight had another side. Seeing himself as half-artist and half-schemer, he admitted that he had "too much ambition . . . to let the schemer be driven out by the better nature." As a United States consul in Manchuria, acting chief of the State Department's Far Eastern Desk, and agent in China for the American Banking Group, Straight tangled with all the dilemmas of the businessman-reformer.

Vevier denies any intention of writing "a diatribe against investment bankers," and his account is so dispassionate and well-informed that he neatly fulfills his self-imposed credo. He concludes about the American bankers in China, however, that "although they were a willing diplomatic instrument in a policy they hoped would be successful, they were unwilling to be made a financial sacrifice to an unsuccessful policy."

CORRESPONDENCE

► Oil and Politics

SIRS:

I have read the first installment of Robert Engler's "Oil and Politics" (NR, August 22) with tremendous satisfaction. It represents exactly what needed to be done, and evidently is going to be extremely well done. I only hope the series will later appear in book or pamphlet form, so that the information it contains may be even more widely spread.

ROSCOE FLEMING

Denver, Colorado

► Pragmatism and Liberalism

SIRS:

If it is true, as Professor Arthur Bestor comments (NR, August 29) that the "alliance between pragmatism and liberalism was a fortuitous one," one may ask what alliances between given philosophical concepts and political and social programs are not fortuitous? To indict pragmatism because it offered a "mere methodology" in American liberalism is to expect quite a good deal from one source.

It may have been true that some pragmatists encouraged "offhand judgments, which often turn out to be little more than conditioned reflexes," but this certainly was not true of Dewey or the particular philosophic ideas he advanced. Dewey's concept of the reflective method, and his insistence on it, is quite well stated in several of his works, the more notable of which are *Theory of Valuation and Logic*, *Theory of Inquiry*. To charge John Dewey with reliance on "the average man's unreflective choice between better and worse" flies into the face of nearly a half century of a devoted man's work. . . .

Finally, Professor Bestor charges that Dewey began a change in which the final and ultimate value of democracy is at last acknowledged. That Dewey held to this notion late in his life is undeniable. What is of importance is that Dewey held to the idea of democracy throughout his entire career.

The New Republic welcomes communications from its readers in regard to subjects of current interest. Those of 300 words or less lend themselves to publication more readily than longer letters.

One of his first publications, *The Ethics of Democracy* (1888), emphasized . . . the dignity and worth of the individual person. Indeed, Dewey's "final" word to Americans was his first.

VERNON F. HAUBRICH

Kenosha, Wisconsin

► Foul Ball for Kazin

SIRS:

Alfred Kazin's "review" of Leslie Fiedler's book, *An End to Innocence* (NR, August 29) . . . was obviously designed for inclusion in your competitor, *The Nation*.

In spite of this . . . I remain in your debt for printing it. I have been looking for several years now for a really first rate example of the use of the *ad hominem* method of attack. Now I have it. Both my students and I thank you—but do be more careful in the future that you print articles that illustrate fairer critical approaches.

B. L. GOODMANSON

Reseda, California

► Federal Aid for Schools

SIRS:

The 84th Congress overlooked a major need when it failed to provide some kind of federal aid for school construction during their first session.

The national legislators may have been lulled into complacent inactivity by reports that 60,000 new classrooms are being constructed this year. But unless another 60,000 new rooms are built next year this year's gains will be of little value.

For example, an extra 250,000 students will be added to high-school enrollments in September, while the elementary-school enrollments will total 1.2 million more pupils than last year.

Nor is this merely a temporary wave that will bulge its way through the school systems and then disappear. In the decade just ended there were nearly 37.5 million births; in the next 10-year period another 42 million babies will appear; and for the 10 years ending in mid-1975 the total will leap to 52 million.

The first big crops of wartime babies will soon reach marriageable age, and

the children of these unions will swell the totals for years to come. Thus a repetitive cycle has been established that will mean tremendous increases in school enrollments—and in school classroom needs—throughout the foreseeable future.

ERNEST W. MANDEVILLE

Allenhurst, New Jersey

BANDWAGON

ELIMINATION of all foreign bids on Federal contracts for domestic construction is under consideration by the Administration.

The proposed policy change is not inspired by a desire to confine existing business to American interests. It is designed to end, once and for all, the criticism directed at this country every time an agency bypasses a low foreign bid and awards business to an American concern.—*New York Times*, August 28, 1955.

IN San Francisco—two Veterans Administration psychologists report they have been able to improve the conditions of some mental patients just by getting them to imagine that they are normal.—From Associated Press Radio Wire, September 2, 1955.

AN East Pasadena restaurant owner was found guilty of smog violation in Pasadena Municipal Court today for broiling eight steaks on a charcoal broiler last July 18. —*Pasadena Star-News*, August 23, 1955.

EVEN today [Senator] McClellan is a relatively poor man; he owns prosperous business properties in Malvern, but, outside that, has only his salary.—*Saturday Evening Post*, August 13, 1955.

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